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International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union
(ILGWU)

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Justice (Vol. 10, Iss. 18)

International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU)

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International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, ILGWU, labor unions, clothing workers, textile workers, garment workers, garment industry, New York, United States

Comments

Justice was the official publication of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union ILGWU from 1919 to 1995. Editions of *Justice* were published in English, Italian, Spanish, and Yiddish. When compared side by side, the content of some of these different editions of *Justice* shows significant differences. This is the English-language edition of *Justice*.

"My righteousness I hold fast, and will not let it go."
—Job 37.8

JUSTICE

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

"Workers of the world unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains."

Vol. X. No. 18

NEW YORK, N. Y., FRIDAY, MAY 4, 1928

PRICE 3 CENTS

All Labor Unions Asked To Join Health Center

Low Fees Offered for Medical and Dental Treatment

The organizing work among the labor unions of New York City in behalf of the Union Health Center is in full swing. Since the representatives of organized labor, at two conferences, decided to accept the opportunity offered them to use the services of the institution, the only thing which remains to be done is to put into action the resolutions accepted at these conferences.

The resolution which is of chief concern to the unions is the plan by which a labor union can affiliate with the Union Health Center and obtain the splendid services for its members. The affiliation fee is low and within the reach of every local organization, especially compared with the benefits derived. It is now more

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19th Convention of I.L. G. W. U. Opens Next Monday In Boston

Big Meeting Will Convene in Musicians Hall—New York Delegates Will All Leave by Train and Boat on Saturday Night—General Executive Board in Final Session in Boston—Cahan, Green, Hillquit Invited to Address Convention

The 19th biennial convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union will begin its regular sessions next Monday morning, May 7, in Boston, Mass. The convention will meet in Musicians Hall, 22 Garrison Street, and President Sigman's gavel is expected to call the delegates to order at 10 o'clock sharp.

In the meantime, the General Office

and the other offices of the Union in New York City are agog with convention talk, convention preparations and the accompanying hubbub and tumult. Delegates from other cities are arriving every hour and are crowding the big house from ground to top floor. President Sigman's office in particular is a bee-hive buzzing with out-of-town and New York delegates, groups of active members of local organizations, while next door, in the Council Room, delegates having business with the Credential Committee are constantly streaming in and out.

The preliminary work of the convention having been completed, the general officers of the organization departed Wednesday night by boat for Boston, where the G. E. B. will have a final short meeting. The headquarters of the General Executive Board and of several large local delegations will be in the Lenox Hotel for the duration of the convention. Other delegations will be housed in other hotels

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Jobbers Fine Five Members for Non-Union Work

Sending Out of Work to Non-Union Shops Cause of Discipline by Jobbers' Body.

Five members of the Merchants' Ladies' Garment Association were fined last week by this organization sums ranging from one to three hundred and fifty dollars on the complaint of the New York Joint Board that these firms were supplying non-union shop owners with work in violation of the agreement with the jobbers' association.

The complaint on behalf of the Union was lodged with impartial Chairman Raymond V. Ingersoll by Vice-president Jacob Halperin, manager of the Jobbers' Division of the Joint Board. Mr. Ingersoll at once ordered an investigation by Auditor Nathan B. Wolf, which confirmed the charge. Bro. Max Schoenfeld, Halperin's assistant, thereupon asked these firms to stop sending work to the non-union shops at once. The firms, however, showed tardiness, and the Union pressed its complaint further. One of the jobbers visited by Bro. Schoenfeld, S. S. Goldberg, told him that he wouldn't recognize a union official, but, within an hour, apparently after he had consulted the office of the association, withdrew his opposition and recalled his work from the non-union shops "under protest."

The disciplined jobbers are: L. Simon, fined \$350; Kaplan Bros., fined \$250; S. & S. Goldberg, fined \$250; L. Silowitz, fined \$100, and Holstein & Young, fined \$100.

Locals Vote To Raise Big Fund For Joint Board

Secretary Wander Points Out Insufficiency of Present Income—Committee of All Locals Elected to Solve Financial Difficulties

At the meeting of the New York Joint Board on April 20, the delegates adopted unanimously a motion by Bro. Benj. Kaplan, manager of Local 2, to raise a fund for the Joint Board that would enable it to meet its operating budget without encountering continued deficits. The decision was passed after Bro. Harry Wander had read to the Joint Board a report covering the financial status of the organization and stressing the necessity of immediate action. Bro. Wander's report read:

"Officers and Delegates of the Joint Board Cloak, Suit, Skirt, Dress & Reefer Makers Union, I. L. G. W. U. Greetings:

I wish to submit a report of the present financial condition of our Joint Board. My purpose in so doing is to draw your most serious attention to the existing conditions, in the hope that you may find a proper solution to our financial problem and thus prevent the

(Continued on Page 3)

Local Executives Vote on Plan For Referendum on General Officers

Resolution Offered by Joint Board to Have All I. L. G. W. U. General Officers Elected by Referendum Is Being Voted For by Local Executives—Locals 2, 9 and 89 Reject Proposal, While Other Locals Favor It

The resolution adopted by the New York Joint Board on April 20, to instruct the delegate of the Joint Board at the Boston convention to submit a resolution to amend the international constitution to the effect that all general officers, including the president, general secretary-treasurer, and the members of the G. E. B. be elected by a referendum of the membership, was carried by a vote of 34, 13 voting against it, with 6 delegates absent. The resolution, thereupon, went over to the executive boards of the affiliated locals for approval or rejection.

Up to this time, the executive boards of Locals 2, 9 and 89 had voted to reject the resolution, while several other executive boards voted in favor of it. Quite likely, the resolution will be proposed to the Boston convention.

This resolution ascribes the "disharmony and internal dissension within the ranks of the International" to the "present form of electing of our"

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Unemployment Fund, "Prosanis", Education—On Convention Agenda

Unemployment Funds to be Revived, Sanitary Label Pushed with Greater Vigor and Educational Work to be Tied Up with Organizing Activity, Says President Sigman

Unemployment insurance, the sanitary label and the educational activities of the I. L. G. W. U. are among the important subjects that will come up for consideration at the biennial convention of the Union.

Necessary steps will be taken, it was declared, to revive the unemployment insurance fund in the New

York cloak trade which was "sabotaged" by Communists and "left wingers" in power in the Union in 1926, on the ground that the fund represented "class collaboration", and by a group of irresponsible employers who evaded payment to the fund. An effort will be made to extend the plan to

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Tens of thousands of workers, members of Organized Labor, bowed tools last Tuesday and celebrated May First, the international holiday of the working class, at twelve big halls in all parts of Greater New York.

A holiday spirit prevailed at all these meetings. The speakers, who emphasized the significance of the day, received enthusiastic ovations from the masses of workers belonging to various nationalities which

crowded the halls. Special stress was laid by the speakers on the current burning problems of Labor in the United States—unemployment, inflexions and imperialism and its evil consequences.

Particularly interesting was the big meeting in the Manhattan Opera House, when cloakmakers and dressmakers gathered to celebrate the workers' holiday. The place was overflowed with humanity from pit to gallery, and among those in the orchestra and in the boxes were many I. L. G. W. U. convention delegates who stopped over in New York on the way to Boston. Bro. A. I. Shiplakoff presided, and delivered an inspiring opening address. He was followed by Jos. Weinberg, national chairman of the Workmen's Circle, whose remarks were met by salvos of applause. President Morris Sigman, who was given an ovation as he rose to speak, was the next speaker.

"The First of May," President Sigman declared, "has given the workers' movement the world over a noble soul; it embodies its spiritual meaning."

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25,000 Workers Celebrate May First At Twelve Big Meetings In New York

A Storm of Enthusiastic Approval Greeted Speakers of Labor and Socialist Movements in Mecca Temple, Manhattan Opera House, Cooper Union, Webster Hall—Morris Hillquit, Norman Thomas, Morris Sigman, Jacob Panken, A. I. Shiplakoff, Jos. Weinberg, and Julius Hochman Among Speakers

All Labor Unions Asked To Affiliate With Health Center

(Continued from Page 1)
ly a question for the unions to decide and act. Postponing the issue will not solve the problems either of the sick members or the position of the Union Health Center. It is therefore timely to suggest that unions act at once. Let them put this matter on their order of business. There is no time to lose.

The following letter has been sent out by the managers of the Union Health Center to all local unions. Readers of "Justice" are requested to bring it before their meetings. A speaker from the Union Health Center will be glad to come and address the meeting—if so desired and notified a few days in advance. To Local Labor Unions in New York City:

Dear Sisters and Brothers:
For fifteen years New York Locals of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union have been maintaining a Union Health Center with medical and dental departments. The Union Health Center has been phenomenally successful not only in providing medical and dental treatment of high quality and at cost to the members of International Locals, but also in putting into practical and working form the idea that the health of the workers is a basic concern of the labor movement. The Union Health Center is well equipped and is staffed with competent physicians and dentists. So successful an enterprise should be made use of by trade unionists generally.

The Board of Directors of the Union Health Center, in consultation with union leaders, among whom are representatives of the Central trades and Labor Council, have decided upon a program for extending the facilities to the members of other trade unions. It has been agreed that the cost of medical and dental service to the workers must be as low as possible in the hope that it may be made easy and natural for them to think and act for the effective protection of their health.

The overhead of the service thus provided at less than cost, would then be met by the yearly fee for affiliation by the locals participating, a fee that would be low in comparison with the benefit obtained. The proposal is that a local Union with a membership from 300 to 500 is to pay a yearly fee of \$100; locals with a membership of 500 to 1,000—\$150; locals with a membership of 1,000 to 1,500—\$200; unions with a membership of 1,500 to 2,000—\$250; from 2,000 to 4,000—\$450, from 4,500

THOUSANDS CELEBRATE FIRST OF MAY

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ing; it is its fighting heart and its rallying point.

"Some people still refer to us as 'immigrants', as if we owed somebody an eternal apology. I protest against this slur; we are American workers and producers, and we have the inalienable right to speak our mind in protest against the unrighteousness of our industrial, economic and political systems which oppress and hound us."

Julius Hochman, general manager of the New York Joint Board, spoke after President Sigman, and was followed by Norman Thomas, who was received with indescribable enthusiasm.

Fine meetings were also held in Webster Hall by the cloak and dress pressers, Local 35, and in the Rand School by members of Locals 41, 66 and 91.

to 5,000—\$500. This is to be the maximum fee—regardless of the number of members thereafter.

After July 1, 1928, members of unaffiliated unions are to be asked to pay a fee which will be higher than the fee for the members of affiliated unions. Representation on the Board of Directors is to be granted to affiliated locals.

If desired, the Union Health Center will provide speakers to explain still further the proposal herein set forth. Fraternally yours,

JOS. BRESLAW, Chairman,
GEO. M. PRICE, M.D., Director.
How About Having Your Teeth Examined Now?

No one cares to have their teeth fixed when the weather gets hot. Experience has shown that unless people are in actual pain, they will not go to a dentist in hot weather. Waiting, however, is undesirable. You may save yourself a great deal of pain, and incidentally, money, too, if you will act now. The Dental Dept. of the Union Health Center is ready to take care of every one of you and your families. It is open daily from 10 a. m. to 7 p. m. except Sunday. Do not delay it—for your own sake!

Those Who Suffer from Hay Fever
Those who suffer from Hay Fever can get relief by taking the treatment offered by the Union Health Center. Treatment are given twice a week—Monday and Thursdays, from five to seven in the evening. Those who have taken the treatment for the last few years testify that they had a great deal of relief. Go to the medical division of the Union Health Center and consult the doctor.

Local Executives Vote on Plan for Referendum on General Officers

(Continued from Page 1)
general officers" and offers the chance in the form of election as a means to "effect harmony in our Union." The resolution reads:

WHEREAS, disharmony and internal dissension prevails within the ranks of our International, which makes the spirit of cooperation in our Union impossible, and

WHEREAS, it is generally argued that there prevails a widespread dissatisfaction and discontent among our members with the present form of electing our General Officers at conventions and

WHEREAS, it is the sense and opinion of the Joint Board of New York that harmony in our Union can best be realized by a change in the form of elections of our General Officers on a more democratic basis and that such change would tend to serve more effectively the interests and welfare of our members and would gain their confidence, and

WHEREAS, the I. L. G. W. U., as a progressive labor organization has always advocated and encouraged a more democratic form of administration, believing that mandates given to officers by the large membership places the officers in a more dignified position, BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED, that the Nineteenth Biennial Convention of the I. L. G. W. U. amend Section 2, 3 and 4 of Article 3 of its Constitution to read to wit:

"Sec. 2—The President, General Secretary-Treasurer and General Executive Board shall be nominated at the Convention and elected by referendum vote of all members of the I. L. G. W. U. The names of

Unemployment Funds, Prosanis, Education Work On Convention Agenda

(Continued from Page 1)
the New York dress trade, where it was aborted when the Communists came into power, and to other markets including Chicago, Boston and Philadelphia.

President Morris Sigman pointed out this week that the union does not look upon unemployment insurance as a panacea for the highly seasonal cloak and dress trades in which workers are fortunate to average 30 weeks work each year, but it is felt that the industry owes the worker an obligation to ease his economic problem as much as possible during inter-season idleness. When the fund functioned in the cloak trade, employers contributed two per cent of their payroll and the workers one per cent of their wages. The fund was suspended early last year until June of this year by mutual consent of the manufacturers' association and the union, union leaders feeling that the efforts to rebuild the union after the Communists had been eliminated following the disastrous 1926 cloak strike required all their energy and attention.

The sanitary or "Prosanis" label, which guaranteed to the consumer that the garment carrying it was manufactured under ideal hygienic conditions and was free of any disease germs, has fallen seriously into disuse after three years of existence. While the label is administered by the Joint Board of Sanitary Control, an impartial organization, functioning for 15 years in the industry, it has served effectively in helping the union

minimize the number of non-union, sweat shops in the industry.

Pres. Sigman declared further before leaving for Boston that the former Communist leadership in the New York Joint Board of Cloak and Dress Makers' Unions "knifed" the sanitary label for the same reason that they had sabotaged the unemployment insurance fund. The sanitary label, he said, represented to them "class collaboration", it was achieved through the mediation of Governor Smith's Advisory Commission. In Boston, it was pointed out, the label is flourishing. Two of the largest retail stores there have ordered their buyers to purchase exclusively garments having the Prosanis label sewed on them.

After twelve years of unbroken activity, the educational work of the International, which has attracted some of the most important educators in the country, is now to be extended to tie up with the organizing work of the union. It is felt that the new element of women workers now invading the dress shops can be most effectively reached through educational methods on a large scale.

Boston Convention Opens Next Monday

(Continued from Page 1)
and in boarding houses near the convention hall.

The report of the General Executive Board has already been received from the printer, and is being fast mailed out to the convention delegates. Such delegates as will not be receive it before leaving for Boston, will obtain their copies at the convention hall.

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Locals Vote To Raise Big Fund for Joint Board

(Continued from Page 1)

possible breaking-down of the Joint Board, in the near future.

I was reluctant about bringing this matter before the Joint Board because I considered that when a subject of so serious a nature is brought before so large a body of delegates, it might be misinterpreted by our enemies. I therefore took this matter up with the Local Managers and with the Board of Directors, but in both instances, we failed to arrive at any conclusion. I am of the opinion that this matter did not receive the attention it deserves and therefore decided to bring it before you.

Our present financial difficulties, in my judgment, in no way indicate that the Union has grown weaker. On the contrary, it is my conviction that we have made considerable progress during the past season in the way of rebuilding our Union and in strengthening its position, morally and financially, as my figures will show. I believe, however, that the Joint Board has undertaken more activities than our income warrants. This, together with the general indebtedness of the Joint Board, brought about the present critical financial situation.

When I assumed the office of Secretary-Treasurer, I found that the Joint Board, besides all its other debts had not paid any of its current bills for a period of seven months. Those bills included all such as—rentals, telephone, electric service, salaries, etc.

We inaugurated a dues drive, which in my opinion, was very successful in that it brought in \$105,000 in dues and about \$45,000 in initiation fees to the Locals. Of this sum, the Joint Board received \$30,000 in per capita for the dues stamps and \$3,750 on account of the initiation fees, making a total of \$33,750 (some Locals still owe the Joint Board a substantial sum on account of the initiation fees.)

During the past three months, the Joint Board's expenditures amounted to \$82,873.54. This shows that during the busy season, when our income was the highest, it only covered less than one-half of the amount expended. Now we are at the beginning of the dull season and we are absolutely without any funds and without any prospects of getting any in the near future.

The total weekly expenditures of the Joint Board, not including organization work, is \$3,500. In addition to that, we are compelled to meet, from time to time, certain security claims. The income which we expect from the Locals at this time will not cover even the cost of the upkeep of the Joint Board offices, not including any salaries whatsoever, either for the Joint Board's clerical staff or its officers or any other incidental expenditures.

We must, therefore, do one of two things—

Have the Locals provide the Joint Board with the necessary funds to meet its expenditures, or

Cut the Joint Board's expenditures to a minimum.

But even if the Joint Board's expenses were cut down to the lowest possible figure, the Locals would still have to contribute to the Joint Board more than they are contributing at present. If the Joint Board is to continue functioning, otherwise the Joint Board cannot possibly exist.

Should you desire to refer this

matter to a Special Committee, I shall be glad to submit to them full details and figures.

Trusting that you will give this matter your most earnest consideration, I am

Yours fraternally,

HARRY WANDER,
Secretary-Treasurer.

The Joint Board also adopted two other resolutions dealing with financial affairs in the Union. One of them dealing with the readjustment of the international per capita suggests the reduction of the present per capita of 15 cents a week, while the other recommends the levying of a tax to meet the Joint Board's obligations.

Endorsement of General Strike Sought

At the same meeting the Joint Board adopted a resolution to be presented by its delegate to the coming convention with reference to the possibility of general strikes in the New York cloak and dress trades after the agreements in force now had expired. The resolution says:

"WHEREAS in renewing these agreements, complications may arise which might necessitate the calling of general strikes, due to the general attitude of certain groups of employers who are endeavoring to undermine union standards and conditions, be it therefore

"RESOLVED, that the convention goes on record as endorsing general strikes in both the cloak and dress industries of New York City should all other means for a peaceful and amicable agreement be impossible."

After due deliberation, it was decided to appoint a special committee, consisting of one delegate from each Local, who will meet jointly with the Local Managers, at the earliest possible moment, in order to find some solution of the present financial problem. The Committee consists of the following delegates:

Local No. 2, Wm. Bloom; Local No. 3, O. Pick; Local No. 9, L. Kaufman; Local No. 10, M. Gordon; Local No. 22, J. Rabinow; Local No. 23, S. Fromchick; Local No. 35, L. Reiff; Local No. 48, E. Molisani; Local No. 82, L. Yasser; Local No. 89, J. Egitto.

World Premiere of "Waltz of the Dogs"

As a gesture of his approval of Cecelia Avramo's treatment of "The Waltz of the Dogs", Herman Bernstein, authorized translator of Andreyev's works, today waived his royalty rights to the play. The Andreyev estate has done the same. The play has attracted more than one actor. Jacob Ben Ami in America, and Leonid Snigoff in Russia, among others, have long desired to act the powerful role of the protagonist in this sardonic tragedy-comedy. The forthcoming production, however, will be the world premiere.

Mark Golinkin, for six years conductor of the Petrograd Opera, has offered his assistance with the direction of the incidental Russian folk songs, and himself composed two of the original motifs. It is long since New York has had such a completely enthusiastic company. Offers of assistance are pouring in to the little Cherry Lane Playhouse, and those who visit rehearsals say that they are witnessing the building of something rarely good. "He Who Gets Slapped", Andreyev's great success in New York, makes the potential success of "The Waltz of the Dogs" not unprecedented.

For a National Public Super-Power System

Declaring that the super-power lobby and the interests it represents constitutes the most corrupting influence in the United States today, Representative Victor L. Berger, of Wisconsin, this week offered a bill providing for a national public super-power system. It contains features providing for the conservation of the nation's natural resources, the coordination of irrigation, flood control, navigation and hydro-electric power production, the enlargement and expansion of the Reclamation Service in the field of agriculture, service at cost, and Federal aid to States, cities, counties, districts and other political subdivisions in the development of super-power systems, with service at cost.

In a statement he issued, Mr. Berger said:

"In proposing public ownership and control of super-power, the Socialist is the most conservative and conserving force at work in our nation today, while the predatory interests, and especially those that are now in the power trust are doing all they can to bring about a violent revolution, in which they may suffer the fate of the tyrants of other days. It is to prevent such a catastrophe that we are suggesting the making of steps that will allow for a peaceable and orderly change.

"The next phase of civilization will be based upon the general use of electric power. The home, as well as the factory and farm, will be dependent upon it. If this power be wisely controlled it will become the slave of humanity and make all slavery unnecessary and superfluous. If it is not publicly controlled, but left in the hands of a few overlords, to be used for their own greed and profit, that power is bound to enslave humanity.

"Today five companies control almost one-half of all the electric power used in America. About twenty concerns own more than four-fifths of the electric energy in our country. This concentration of control has brought with it large and increasing profits to those on the inside who have the control. In 1922, for instance, the profits of this electric industry were \$338,400,000. In 1926 these profits rose to \$587,400,000, which means an increase of more than \$250,000,000 within three years.

"Hand in hand with this concentration, goes the corrupting influence of this octopus. Not only Congress, but State and city legislative bodies today feel the presence of this power lobby. It has been well characterized in Congress as the greatest lobby ever organized in this country.

"The way to bring a halt to this menace of corruption and thievery is to adopt the principle of public ownership. Public ownership means simplicity of organization, no stock selling propaganda, and no corruption. And it means more than that. We have before us as the most conspicuous example of such public control the case of Ontario. Despite the fortune spent by the power trust to discredit the efficient example of Ontario, we know that starting on a very small scale twenty years ago by creating a hydro-electric power commission, Ontario today owns numerous great gen-

erating plants along the Canadian border and is cooperating with 380 municipalities to supply electricity at cost.

"From charges ranging from seven cents to 25 cents per kilowatt under private ownership, the rates have been reduced until in 1926 the average price for domestic users throughout the province of Ontario was 1.8 cent per kilowatt—less than two cents per kilowatt. And this charge allows for the retiring of the bonds within 40 years. In our country we permit private companies, to whom we have given away most of our resources, to charge exorbitant rates for the benefit of private bond holders. We can still save future generations from bondage by enacting my bill for public ownership of super-power."

Brookwood Will Have Extension Classes in Workers' Education

Extension classes in workers' education are to be added to the activities of Brookwood Labor College, according to plans perfected by the board of directors at their annual meeting April 21-22. Tom Tippet, formerly educational director for the United Mine Workers of Sub-District 5, Illinois, will be in charge. Mr. Tippet, who has been teaching economics at Brookwood this year, will organize classes in New England and New York, and will be available to trade unions and other groups for lectures.

Two labor directors on the board whose terms expire this year were elected to succeed themselves—Phil Ziegler, editor of the Railway Clerk, and Robert Fechner, vice president of the Machinists' Union. James H. Maurer, president of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, was re-elected as president of the corporation.

A summary of the activities of Brookwood graduates showed one as director of workers' education in Pennsylvania, and four in active charge of city labor colleges in Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore and Salem, Mass. Others are union organizers and officers, labor journalists, cooperative managers, and teachers of local workers' education classes.

WAGES OF ORGANIZED WORKERS IN CANADA

ALL important organized trades in Canada were receiving a higher wage rate at the end of 1927 than at the end of the previous year, according to the annual report on "Wages and Hours of Labor," just issued by the Dominion Department of Labor. With wage rates in 1913 represented by 100, the published index numbers of wage rates for representative trades show the progress made last year over 1926.

The biggest advance in 1927 over 1926 was made by the railways, the increase being 6 per cent. The cost of living last year was about 56 per cent above 1913, so that the wages in the printing trades, for instance, which have risen by 95 per cent since the war, have in reality only risen 25-30 per cent.

JUSTICE

A Labor Weekly

Published every Friday by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union
Office: 3 West 16th Street, New York, N. Y. Tel. Chelsea 2148

MORRIS SIGMAN, President

A. HAROFF, Secretary-Treasurer
MAX D. DANISH, Editor

Subscription price, paid in advance, \$1.00 per year.

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Entered as Second Class Matter, April 15, 1920, at the Postoffice at New York, N. Y., under the Act of August 24, 1912.

Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage, provided for in Section 1103, Act of October 3, 1917, authorized on January 25, 1918.

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EDITORIALS

The Convention Is Here

The long awaited national assembly of our representatives is at hand. Most of the delegates are on their way to Boston, and within a day or two, the chairman's gavel will announce the opening of the nineteenth convention of the I. L. G. W. U.

It is planned to have this year a "short" convention. Instead of the usual two weeks, an effort will be made to pack the whole work of the convention into one week by paying strict attention to business and by saving time whenever possible. The argument for a one-week convention is, indeed, strong and convincing. There is scarcely a doubt that a great deal of the "trimmings," speeches, by delegates and guests alike, and other convention super-growths could be easily spared without affecting the meeting in the least. Other trade unions manage to complete convention work in one week, and they achieve it without any preceptible detriment.

Nevertheless, we frankly doubt, best intentions notwithstanding, that we will be able to carry out this plan. We have a hunch that no matter how fast we might wish to travel, we will have, from time to time, to abandon the "express" in favor of a "local," and give all the time necessary to the examination and discussion of several of the most important points of our agenda. You may call it a fault, or an unwise tradition, but delegates of our conventions invariably are tardy when it comes to leaving matters of vital importance to the decision of the incoming General Executive Board. They much rather would have their own say in such matters, and, as a rule, they carry their point and do not regret the time lost in debating.

What do we expect from this convention, what role, do we believe, will it play in the life of our Union, in its immediate future, at least?

We answer this question in the following few words: The Boston convention will succeed to the extent of what each delegate individually, and all of them collectively, will earnestly strive to make it a success.

Too simple an answer, some might say, but it is, nevertheless, the only answer possible. Let us bear in mind the character of the present convention. It is not a jubilee convention, like the one we had in Boston in 1924, where the show and parade element predominated. Neither is it of the regulation type, a convention that is partly a holiday and partly a business gathering, the kind that a national organization needs to have periodically. We meet in Boston this year for strictly constructive purposes, to devise ways and means how to bring to a successful end the vital program of union-rebuilding which we started some year and a half ago and which has since taxed every minute of our time and every drop of our resources.

Work of this kind requires all the earnestness, diligence and resourcefulness that each of us is capable of mustering at this hour. We must constantly bear in mind this ultimate aim of our convention, and it should serve as the sole motive for every step that we might make and for every plan of action that we might adopt. We, of course, know too well that differences of opinion will crop up and develop wherever men come together to discuss subjects of common interest, that "political" moves, personal ambitions and personal triumphs cannot be entirely avoided. The convention, however, has a right to demand from each and every delegate, from each group of delegates, and from each sectional representation that the personal element be subordinated to the immensely more important interest of the Union as a whole, that personal feelings give way before the collective feeling that we all owe our organization a great debt and that at this convention we are gathered to pay this debt honestly and faithfully.

We know what we want. We know our industrial and organizational ills and shortcomings. Our main issues and problems are standing out in bold relief on our day's order, and the answer to these problems and issues is fully and widely presented and developed in the far-reaching proposals brought forth by the General Executive Board in its report to the dele-

gates and in the numerous resolutions that will be introduced by the delegates themselves on behalf of their locals at the convention.

What the Union, as a labor organization and as the most important human factor in the cloak industry, can contribute to the stabilization of this industry and to the ridding it of such evils and drawbacks as make the lot of the cloakmakers precarious and unbearable; how to organize the huge and ever-growing dress industry with its tens of thousands of non-union workers in every market in the country; how to place on a sound and effective foundation the work of organizing the great mass of women workers who, with each passing year, are becoming a more influential factor in the life of our industry; how to form a rational basis for a general demand for higher and more secure annual earnings for the workers in all our industries; how to solve some strained jurisdictional difficulties within the Union in a fair and equitable manner, and, generally, —how, simultaneously with the final liquidation of our recent struggle for an independent existence as a trade union, completely to cleanse the atmosphere of our organization of every remaining trace of unwholesome influence that hinders, here and there, the normal life of the Union—all this is big enough a program, we believe, to satisfy every sincere, constructively-minded trade unionist and to inspire him or her to contribute the best in them at this historic day in the existence of our Union.

And let it be stated here once again: We are not engaged in forecasting events, but we should like to assert one thing in advance. The hope of that small element which has been "boring" for peace with the Communist enemy and its camp-followers, that it would succeed in splitting our convention into two factions on that issue, will prove a vain and futile hope.

These "peace" promoters and their inspirers, inside the convention hall and outside of it, will not succeed in hampering and blocking the constructive work at the Boston convention as, for instance, their forerunners had hampered and obstructed the free labors of the Union at the Philadelphia convention. They will not succeed in creating enough rancor and bitterness to induce even a portion of the delegates to waste time in galling and sterile debate rather than to devote themselves wholeheartedly and solely to the urgent needs of the day, to matters affecting the strengthening of every weak spot on our line.

We can do no better than conclude our remarks with a quotation from the final paragraphs of the voluminous report of the General Executive Board, which our delegates will receive in a few days:

"It has been a hard grind, a terribly exhausting task, to lead the International Union in the past two and a half years. It required nerves of steel, at times, and a faith deeply rooted in the idealism of our movement to bear up under the strain. Above all, it required love for the Organization, inborn devotion that words are too weak to express, to face the ordeal, to confront the fire, to fight on despite setbacks—and to win.

"And that is precisely the sum total of our record for the past two and a half years. We have taken over a shattered union, morally and structurally, a union that was mortgaged body and soul to a political clique, after a disastrous strike which broke down the morale of the membership and intensified the sufferings of our workers from the paramount ills of our industry. We are returning you this day a free Labor organization, unhampered to mould its own faith and destiny, and standing four-square again on the fighting line of the American trade union movement. For this we have to thank the inherent loyalty of our members who cooperated with us and helped us carry the burden of the often unbearable task from the moment we resolved that our Union must continue on its glorious career, that our Union must not die!

"And let it further be stated here as a matter of historic record. The fight forced upon our Union by the disruptive forces from the outside was a challenge issued not to our International alone but to the whole American Labor movement. Our Union was singled out for attack as a first wedge into the trade union movement of the country, as a starting point to serve as a base of operations for further wrecking activity in other labor organizations. The magnificent and successful struggle which our International has put up to preserve the organization against the ruthless Communist invasion is, therefore, of utmost significance to the whole American trade union movement. We have repulsed this attack at a terrific cost, but we have saved our Union, and, in doing so, we have rendered a great service to every American labor organization, a service which the future historian of the American Labor movement cannot pass without due notice and stress.

"Delegates: We accepted our office in 1925 in a spirit of service, and in this spirit we are returning it to you. Let this spirit of service and loyalty guide you in every step and decision that you might make. It is the only force in the Labor movement that counts; it is the only energizing power that can be relied upon to bring constructive, up-building results. In the name of the I. L. G. W. U. we welcome you to this convention."

The Joy of Glove Making

THE art of glove making is of high antiquity, apparently dating back to cave-dwelling days. In Homer, Laertes is described as wearing gloves while walking in his garden. These are records that the Persians wore fur gloves "having separate sheaths for the fingers." And among the chronicles of this era's first century we find that Anne, the mother of Mary, was known as the patron saint of the glove makers.

Glove making as a trade was introduced into England in the tenth or eleventh century from France. In 1165 the gloves of Perth, England, incorporated and in 1190 a glove makers' guild was formed in France. In America the making of gloves dates from 1760, when Sir William Johnson, colonizer for New York, brought over several families of glove makers from Perth. They settled in Fulton County, New York, and there founded the cities of Gloversville and Johnstown, which to this day are known as the most important centers in the United States for the making of fine dress gloves.

Gloves are evolving, however. Fulton County may lay first claim upon fine dress gloves, but there has been addition to the industry—the making of heavy leather work gloves, including the automobile and driving gloves, made principally of horse-hide and cow-hide. And the most modest canvas glove, which made its appearance in the market many years ago, together with its younger companion, the canvas-and-leather work glove or gauntlet, is fast encroaching upon the popularity and adaptability of the all-leather work glove. The advent of the canvas glove spelled mass production for this industry. The making of the work gloves is centered in the mid west, with Ohio and Indiana in the lead as to number of factories and of workers employed. Altogether there are nearly four hundred glove factories in the United States, and something above eighteen thousand glove makers for the gloves' Saint to watch over. Few of these glove workers know how a whole glove is made, for that is one of the outgrowths of high specialization and much improved machinery.

Let us try to picture a girl operator seated at a power chain-stitch machine speeded up to 3,300 revolutions per minute. There is the "walking foot" with intricacies difficult of description. It is a device that reaches out to clutch the prepared material as it approaches the swiftly darting needles. Down the side of the needle bar there constantly flows, drop by drop, a liquid soap that keeps the "walking foot" from stitching. Only the nimblest of fingers can guide the canvas and leather toward the descending needle without being battered a bit by the "foot." So finger tips are always in jeopardy and many a machine operator goes about with her fingers tied up. Or, if uncovered, they show themselves red with bruises and cuts.

But this is to be a story of a twentieth century "throwing down of the gauntlet," and of a canvas glove factory situated in Marion, Indiana. Marion is a not-too-prosperous city of nearly 20,000, and it was there that during the latter part of January, 212 glove cutters, operators, pressers and inspectors quit their work with the United States Glove Company, makers of "Twin Seam" gloves, protesting a twenty-two per cent wage reduction. The cut was camouflaged as a "wage differentiation plan," known as the Halsey system. It is the old story of a committee of workers coming through the "open door"

The Story of a Glovers' Strike in An Indiana Town

By L. S.

to the superintendent, voicing the protest of fellow workers against a wage reduction, and being told that the company was "running its own business" and furthermore, every member of the committee being fired for daring to disagree with an arbitrary decision of the company. Work paraphernalia and such personal belongings as one may have around the block or machine were ordered gathered up and handed to the seven committee members, for they were not permitted to go back to their work floor where some of them had spent twelve or sixteen years of their workaday lives.

Resentment of this procedure against their fellow workmen showed itself in an immediate walk-out of nearly all the workers in the factory, ninety per cent of whom are women.

What is the Halsey system? It is designated by the United States Glove Company as an "efficiency plan," but in reality it is merely a wage payment system. It sets a standard for output for a given wage, and provides that as workers produce more, the savings be divided in a sliding scale between workers and management. The plan is said to be old and not extensively used. It hangs the plum so high that it is out of reach to the worker of average speed. And in Marion it certainly proved itself not an "efficiency plan." The circular letter of instructions was confusing, but the pay envelope's shortage spoke eloquently. Work stopped—that was the only answer.

Just before the strike occurred, the workers made application to the International Glove Workers' Union of America for a charter, which later was granted them as Local No. 75 of Marion. This made for the workers a connection with organized labor, especially with the Marion Central Trades Council, which has been lending every assistance, and with the trade union of their craft.

It developed that the company's board of directors was made up of Marion's leading business and professional men, including a circuit judge, a banker, a prominent physician, and a leading real estate man. As a unit the board made itself inaccessible to a strikers' committee, a union official, or the United States Department of Labor Mediator, to whom the union had applied for assistance. When finally reached on the telephone, the factory superintendent told the glove workers' International Secretary that he was "much too busy to see her" and that it would do no good any way. The Mediator did succeed in reaching the superintendent, finally obtaining a hearing for a committee of strikers. First, however, they were compelled to yield to the company's demand that the committee include no union official or strike leader, though some of these leaders had been employees of years standing. This conference accomplished nothing. The company clung to its statement about "running its own business" and that it would take back whomsoever it pleased.

The strikers are asking for the discontinuance of the "efficiency plan," a modification of the wage reduction and recognition of the right to bargain collectively through their trade union. One of the contentious points is that the company is most outspoken about taking none of the leaders back.

"Is It My 'Buster'?"

Then there is another grievance in the canvas glove factory, a phase of a basic evil identified with the history of all the sewing trades. This is the deduction from the worker's pay of varying sums to cover costs which, from an equitable viewpoint, belong to the cost of factory overhead. Sometimes it takes the form of charging for thread, or needles, or oil, or for power or machine rent. Against these injustices the workers have had to fight all the way along the line, and in the Marion factory this evil appears in the form of deductions for "busters" or "menders" of which no record is kept and which may amount up to as high as 94 cents a week. The operator holds that she has a right to know whether the "busters," charged at the rate of 1 cent each, are really her fault and not caused by poor stock, or because a rip has occurred in pressing. Sometimes these "busters" are due to a slight twist of the arm or wrist which causes the highly speeded-up machine to skip a stitch or two. For these she recognizes that she must make good, preferring, however, that they be brought back to her for remedy. According to the girls' opinions, the average operator's output contains comparatively few "busters," so the arbitrary docking is regarded as an unwarranted leak in her pay envelope.

There is such a human element in all our work! If by speeding up all week, and doing one little operation—say it is sewing in a thumb—at the rate of 18 boxes a day (3 dozen pairs in a box, or 1,296 single gloves), and then the week's pay is about \$4 less than the same speed produced under the former system, who wouldn't rebel, no matter how fervently the company maintained there hadn't been a cut that if the workers got used to the "efficiency plan" they could even increase their earnings?

"Efficiency" vs. the Grocery Bill

Translated into terms of food, clothing and rent, the reduction was intolerable, even allowing for the slightly lower cost of living in the smaller city as compared to that in a metropolis. (Allowing also for the fact that dwellers in a small city make fewer demands upon life.) At the old scale there was not enough leeway for any number of the family to remain at home. In one instance, daughter, mother and grandmother were all in the shop. A new fear has been injected into the hearts of some of the Marion workers because of an alleged edict that the company will employ only those between 18 and 35, for swift movement and nimbleness of fingers are such essential qualifications under the "efficiency plan." A few of the "over 35s" would not strike. Once out, could they ever get back? The body has need no matter what its age.

Sometimes one hears a factory owner say that people like to work in his place. "Why, we have whole families employed." Before smiling indulgently, find out whether the whole family is compelled to work in order to keep ahead of the rent agent and the groceryman.

After the first week out those in charge of the strike realized the need among some of the strikers to whom relief had to be given, and as the weeks went by, more and more names were added to the list of those needing sustenance. The union hit upon the plan of conducting a small commissary in its improvised headquarters for which a friendly neighbor had given a retort stove so that the twenty-five pickets might have a warm place to come to and where a

hot noon-time meal could be served not only to the pickets but to the most needy. Friendly farmers supplied potatoes, and several mornings bottles of milk were found on the steps, ready for the early morning pickets' coffee, on duty at 6:15.

A kindly restaurant man repeatedly sent a supply of fifty freshly made sandwiches and the women strikers took turns in doing the cooking. An undertaker, in sympathy with those seeking to live longer, loaned fifty chairs with the proviso that he must "borrow them back" in case he had a funeral. Tin plates and table "silver" were loaned by a nearby church, and the ten-cent store made possible the purchase of tin cups for the coffee.

It was amazing to see with what orderliness and system everything went forward.

The needs of the strikers are many and varied. House rent, illness of children, payments on household goods, shoes, and so on. One hard-up striker had been promised a pair of shoes and when asked if the old ones would hold out another week, he said: "Well, if I stepped on a thin dime I'd know whether it was heads or tails." Through it all, there has been patience, loyalty, humor and a real philosophy.

Ten Weeks of Striking

The strike has been on ten weeks now. The United States Mediator, reinforced by instructions from the Department of Labor in Washington, is trying for another conference. A personal appeal was made to the Governor of Indiana, a committee of strikers coming over from Marion to join the National official in Indianapolis. The plea was for intervention based on the fact that the United States Glove Company was contributing to the unemployment in the State. (Indiana has few adequate labor laws.) The Governor assigned the Director of the State Employment Bureau to Marion. He saw the company officials and was able to make an opening for the committee of workers. For the most part, however, these conferences have proved themselves but gestures on the part of the company.

The Marion newspapers have "kept their place," but the union bought display advertising space in morning and afternoon papers and briefly told the strike story. As one reflects on the strike happenings of these last few weeks, it is apparent that it is no longer a fight against the glove workers, but an attempt to keep trade unions out of Marion and out of the canvas glove industry. Marion is essentially a low-wage center, the glove workers' wages being typical. One of the pickets, when coming off the picket-line, numb with cold, said "I'm frozen out," and another commented "Yes, and that company over there is freezing us all out." In the company's own words, it would "starve them out."

Life and Labor

WANDERERS VS. RANGERS

The Glasgow Rangers won the Scottish League last Saturday thereby being crowned winner of the "Double Event." They had previously won the Scottish Cup by defeating the Glasgow Celtic. Last year also the Rangers won the Scottish League.

Only once before in the history of Scottish Football has one team won both the league and the Cup in the same season. This rare feat stamps the Glasgow Rangers as one of the really great eleven of all time.

The Brooklyn Wanderers who will meet the Rangers in the opening game in the U. S. tour at Ebbets Field at 5:30 P. M. on Decoration Day, May 31, report a heavy demand for reserved seats for the opening game which promises to tax the capacity of the ground.



EDUCATIONAL COMMENT AND NOTES



Meeting Machine's Challenge

How Workers May Reap Benefits of Increased Productivity

By FANNIA M. COHN

A YEAR ago, a distinguished historian and economist of a mid-Western University said to me, "I wonder whether the labor movement has the remotest idea of what is happening in the world of business? It seems to me that labor leaders have very little cognizance, for instance, of the fact that some of the best minds of the country are being trained in new industrial methods and employed by the industrial interests in studying the details of every process of their manufacturing. The worker is being analyzed and psycho-analyzed without his knowledge. Every factor is food for research his productivity—how it can be multiplied—and, furthermore, how great the contribution is which he the worker, makes to the machine."

According to this economist's assertion, this detailed analysis of the worth of labor has been going on since the outbreak of the war and the research has been still more intensified since the armistice.

His statement recalled to my memory a conversation I had several years ago with a person connected with the labor movement in a research capacity. In our discussion, this man continually reiterated his insistence on the necessity of having labor cooperate with employers in a determined effort to increase productivity. This, to him, meant a total elimination of waste and, naturally, the introduction of an efficient and scientific form of management.

To my question as to how this would work out in practice, to the worker's and the consumer's gain, his answer was quick.

"Labor must get together with Capital. It must convince Capital of its good faith, of its willingness to cooperate."

I insisted further: "Before Labor gets together with Capital, Labor must first know the problems which mass production creates for the worker. It must make a study of these problems which this mutual effort at solution brings to the round table of discussion. Further, Labor must do this research independently of Capital. On the basis of its findings it must work out a tentative program based upon facts and present it for mutual discussion at the conference."

I pointed out to him the humiliation of having Labor invite Capital to a round table discussion on efficiency and come unprepared to the meeting. Like a beggar with nothing to offer, it would be looking up to Capital to provide it with information and would only succeed in exposing its poverty in the comprehension and the possession of industrial facts.

These two conversations made the situation very clear to me. In its study of the problem of unemployment, Labor must use the same weapon of research so successfully wielded by Capital in its newest revolutionizing of industry. Armed with knowledge of the situation it can command the confidence of its workers who feel that their interests are protected and by bringing its case to the round table of discussion Labor will be able to command respect from Capital and the public—a respect based on the knowledge that Labor is able to contribute to the solution of industrial problems.

Undoubtedly it can be said that the

Labor Movement missed its opportunity in the past. It might have taken the lead to enlighten workers and the general in public as to the possible effects of what was going on in industry. It might have taken the lead in preparing a program to protect organized workers in our newest industrial revolution. At the same time it would thus have held out some hope and offered guidance to unorganized workers. By an example of leadership in a crisis, it would inspire them with confidence that their hopes, as well, rest with the labor movement.

Has Not Reached Peak

Our new industrial revolution of increased productivity, of improved machinery and management was by no means effected over night. This change in industry was a gradual process of development, covering many years. According to prominent industrial technicians, it has not yet reached its peak. Therefore, it is not too late for the labor movement to get to work on these problems, as effectively and quickly as possible with an eye toward the future as well as to the present. Of course, some might say:

"The industries which are controlled by the labor movement did not undergo as great a change. Hence, the attention of the movement was not focused on the problem." This is true. The reason for our disinterested attitude can undoubtedly be explained. Still, as a movement, we should be more farsighted. Something more than the immediate present should concern us."

From a selfish viewpoint, the Labor movement should have put the question to itself: "How long can the management of industries which employ organized workers remain static? How long can it continue on its present basis?"

History teaches us that no one industry remains independent of the influence of another. It does not need very close scrutiny to note that in industries where the American Labor movement has contractual relations an immense change has taken place in their volume of production, their scientific management and their development of more efficient machinery. Capital, in its disregard of the workers' interests during the process of technological improvement, offers a challenge to the labor movement. It is a challenge which the movement will have to meet in order to protect organized and unorganized labor, the public at large and, also, in the long run, in order to save its own existence.

The Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators, in its March issue, did a great service to the labor movement by compiling and presenting an excellent survey of industrial conditions, under the headlines "Will American Industry Commit Labor Suicide?" and "Far Flung Revolution Dictated by Machines." The effect of the new production methods on about fifteen industries is minutely described here. The workers employed in these industries are now being organized into trade unions. The report shows, for instance, that among the seamen there is a shrinkage of worker power of approximately 4,000 per cent; that class 1 railroads in October 1922 employed 13 per cent fewer men than in 1923; that among the

dock workers, automatic machinery to unload ships is doing the work of 300 men. The article quotes figures of the Department of Commerce, showing that from 1920 to 1925 the number of tractors on farms in the United States was increased by 105.9 per cent. Where formerly it required several hundred glass blowers to create the necessary supply of five-gallon carboys needed in the United States, now one single machine can manufacture the whole supply.

This is the simple story of the effect of the new production methods on our industries.

In the Basic Industries

The account of these changes, however, does not take into consideration the immense revolution effected in the basic industries, where the workers are not as yet organized into trade unions. There, grievances are not freely being voiced and very few are interested in finding out possible effects of the industrial change on the earnings and on the very lives of the workers.

One result, however, is obvious without much research. The individual worker undoubtedly produces more than he did formerly. If total production does not increase correspondingly to this increased productivity, the result is that fewer workers are employed to provide merchandise for the market. Consequently, many workers are thrown on the scrap heap and added to the unemployed. These have hardly any purchasing power. Since workers are so interdependent, these conditions rapidly become worse and immediately affect every other industry. The army of unemployed becomes swelled. And in the long run, the unemployment evil strikes even the worker who is not affected by the change in productivity in his industry.

"We are obtaining more and better industrial equipment only at the price of heavy investment in unemployment and human misery," declares Summer H. Slichter, professor of economics, Cornell University, in an article in the New Republic. "We are not getting a bargain. We are purchasing progress at a high price, and the cost falls largely on those least able to bear it. The greater our success in stabilizing the business cycle, the more plainly we find unemployment created by technical progress staring us in the face. Both practice and expediency demand that the community provide itself with sufficient dollar purchasing power so that the victim of progress may have an opportunity to produce."

So far I have been concerned solely with the economic well-being of the worker. There is still another aspect to the phenomenon of our latest industrial revolution. This is the danger, that, through a highly mechanized industry, the worker will gradually be deprived of all opportunity for mental development.

With the excessive simplification of industry as it is at present controlled, the worker is used in tasks of dulling repetition. The human being, in comparison with the machine, is tolerated only where it still pays to keep him or where the machine must have a human hand to assist it.

"The industrial revolution," declares Professor Guy Rexford Tagwell, Columbia University, in his excellent book, *Industry's Coming of*

Age, "has completely denuded the worker of responsibility, just as also it has stolen away his skill. Workers are no longer as useful as workers (distinguished from managers and devoted to the function of moving and manipulating) and tend to obstruct rather than to advance productivity. They survive only as inferior machines (because they seem cheaper) and are rapidly being displaced. It is true, however, that many whom we call workers ought to be identified as lesser managers. Even this latter group will gradually be replaced by machinery."

Danger to Civilization

So we obviously must stop and ponder over this problem. Is the machine—man's invention—going to destroy him? Will the machine which held out so much promise to the worker deprive him of his daily bread and, as a result, enslave him to those who possess it. If modern industrialism led to the accumulation of the wealth of nations into the hands of a few and made the workers economically dependent upon Capital, the new development of the automatic machine makes the unskilled millions of the industrial army dependent upon the industrial technicians. In a word, all the skill of industry will be concentrated in a few persons. We cannot pass by this possibility without emphasizing the danger for civilization if its success depends upon a few high priests, be they religious, technical, scientific, capitalistic or intellectual.

My reaction to Professor Tagwell's description of Labor's glowing lack of skill is an immediate one. Is the individual worker is deprived of skill, the union, which represent him, should take possession of that skill. It should convert it into a strength that will be a bulwark of protection to all workers. I am not as pessimistic as some are when confronted with this new situation. Though I feel that every age takes care of itself, my optimism is based on a distinctly practical solution. We must not be over-dependent on miracles. The new phenomenon of intensive "Organization" can be controlled only by "Organization." The organized power of Capital which, in amassing wealth, has forgotten its responsibility to the workers, must be checked and controlled by a strong organized labor movement. Such a movement should remind Capital that the goal of humanity is not industrial progress at the expense of human happiness. How is this to be achieved? How can these millions of workers in the essential industries be organized? How can labor challenge great corporations which are backed not only by billions of dollars but also by all the power of the press, of political parties, and of the judiciary?

(To be continued)

New Books

Our Educational Department continues to render useful service to our members in helping them select books to read and collect. Lately a number of informative books on social and economic problems have been published. Some of these books we can offer our members at much reduced prices. We will be glad to have them visit our Education Department at 3 West 16th Street.

Morals From Sinclair's Acquittal

By NORMAN THOMAS

BY now the acquittal of Sinclair is an old story. Some of the lessons from it ought to stick like burrs in our memory. Here was a man who employed jury fixers in a former trial, who had lost Teapot Dome by unanimous decision of the United States Supreme Court, who was proved to have given around \$250,000 to a Cabinet officer in bonds which he had tried to hide, who refused to take the stand in his own defense and whose lawyers were allowed to enter the elaborate deposition taken from his co-defendant, Mr. Fall. He was promptly acquitted. Why?

Well, the rules of evidence may have had something to do with it. One juror said that he learned more about the case by reading the afternoon paper than during the two weeks trial. "Why," he continued, "didn't they tell us all that stuff? How in hell did they expect us to know what it was all about when they didn't give us the facts?" When a juror talks like this one not only suspects the rules of evidence but the competence of the lawyers who ought to have made things a little clearer, even though handicapped by some of the artificial rules of evidence in our courts.

One also suspects the education of the jurors. Since this was supposedly an above-the-average jury one is compelled to suspect our whole educational system which leaves men so unable to grapple with what was, after all, not a very complicated set of facts. The juror who only learned what happened by reading the afternoon paper is characteristic of a large class of Americans who are taught to read but not to think.

There is more to be said and worse. The verdict of the Sinclair jury is another proof that America is too full of people who believe that everybody will take what he can get, that a man who can make a hundred million dollars or so can't be wrong, and who are therefore incapable of any sort of indignation at the betrayal of public trust. One of the most extraordinary things said by any juror was the comment of the man who thought that if Fall had gotten two million dollars or more it would have been graft but that a mere \$235,000 was chicken feed which might have been paid in a business deal about a ranch! There is a parable for you of American standards and ideals!

But whatever the failures of jurors and citizens the most cynical role, as usual, is occupied by a representative of the legal profession. Martin W. Littleton, professional player on the emotions of jurors, eminent patriot and anti-red, told one Sinclair juror that he would prove that Sinclair never turned over any of the liberty bonds which he made on the Continental oil deal to Fall. It was definitely proved that Sinclair did turn over the bonds to Fall. Littleton did not repeat the statement in the second trial. But neither did he apologize or make any explanation. When he made his original assertion he either lied or had been lied to. This prominent lawyer and patriot felt under no obligation to explain which. Whatever inward grief he may have felt was doubtless assuaged by the size of his fee.

The Senate Abdicates

The Senate of the United States has taken a long step toward abdication of the legitimate functions of Congress and making the President of the United States a complete dictator of foreign affairs. We refer, of course, to the overwhelming defeat of the Norris amendment, which provided

that none of the money appropriated for the navy should be used for the retention of the marines in Nicaragua after February 1, 1939, unless Congress declared war or war should exist under international law. Now this resolution was an extremely conservative application of what ought to be an accepted rule of American government, namely, that the President alone cannot put or keep us in a war, big or little, without Congressional sanction.

The resolution ought not to have applied merely to Nicaragua and it ought not to have left Nicaraguan affairs to drift for more months under the so-called Stimson plan which has already broken down. Yet, the measure was defeated not for its faults but its virtues by a vote which can only mean that hereafter any President of the United States can appeal to Senatorial action as giving him a right to land marines and wage private wars in little countries on his own initiative and responsibility. Such powers are dictatorial. They were never contemplated by those founding fathers to whose memory our worthy Senators pay such pious devotion. What is more to the point, the Senate has taken away one more hope that Congress might be an effective curb in the present infamous Nicaraguan war and a barrier to such wars in the future.

The Aviators' Triumph: Blessing or Disaster?

About this westward flight of the Bremen, the tragic ending of Floyd Bennett's gallant attempt to go to its aid and Captain Wilkins' flight over polar seas there is something too fine for any newspaper ballyhoo to mar. Courage and skill and the comradeship of the men who seek the conquest of the air are precious possessions for mankind to treasure. Not the least satisfactory feature of the whole business has been its genuinely international character. The flyers who first made the western passage in safety were German and Irish. The welcome and help they got when they were marooned on Greenly Island were American and Canadian. The heroes of the trip from Alaska to Spitzbergen were Australian and American. We do not wish to darken the hour of rejoicing but we shall miss half the lesson of these triumphs of aviation if we fail to understand that unless we can make an end of war the very deeds we now applaud will be turned to our destruction. Instead of international rejoicing we shall have national wars made more deadly.

Drafting the Workers

One of the most dangerous bills ever introduced into our Congress is the national draft law backed by the American Legion and sponsored by Senator Capper of Kansas and Representative Johnson of South Dakota. Its backers, or some of them, represent that the bill will conscript wealth in the event of another war. It will do nothing of the sort. On the face of it it only purports to regulate capital. The President is authorized "to take such steps as may be necessary to stabilize prices". You know what that would mean with a Coolidge in the White House and a Mellon in the Treasury Department.

But the President is empowered not to regulate but to draft labor. He can conscript men between the ages of 21 and 30 or "such other limits" as he may fix. Under this law every worker in every shop or on every farm can in time of war be made amenable to military government and military law. A bill like this means an end of all liberty of citizens and the final sub-

Labor The World Over

The Immigrant's Paradise, Brazil

REPORTS received directly from Brazil go to show that the tyranny toward labor practiced in that country is going from bad to worse. The printers' union recently held a public meeting in Rio de Janeiro, and a certain person happened to be described by one of the speakers as "a Government spy". The police thought this was sufficient to justify them in firing on the crowd, which they did with such success that 4 persons were wounded and 2 killed.

The government then proceeded to dissolve the union. Three Spanish and 2 Portuguese workers who had the "audacity" to publish and distribute a small leaflet, were arrested and despite the strong protests of the labor unions, promptly deported as "seditious elements". Some of these workers were over 60 and had been living in Brazil for many years. The "Non-political" Trade Union

Movement in Great Britain

THE "Town Crier" of Birmingham quotes a pamphlet about to be issued by the Labor Research Department, which contains some sensational facts concerning the nature of the "non-political trade union movement". It will be remembered that this movement was started during the miners' strike by the founding of Spencer's yellow union; and its object is alleged to be the promotion of trade unionism "on a non-political basis". The movement is supported not only by the "poor" mine-owners, but also by shipping firms, oil combines, iron and steel combines, huge merchandising firms, banks, insurance firms, stevedoring and dock employers, building contractors, boot and shoe employers, sugar refineries etc. etc.

The "Town Crier" makes the following remark:

"The capitalist class as a whole, in fact, considers that this organization, designed to smash the Trade Union movement, is essential to its existence. The Emergency Powers Act, the smashing of the miners during the lock-out, the Anti-Trade Union Act, the direct victimization of all hit

ordination of men to property in the event of war. No wonder most of its backers are not honest in describing it or arguing for it.

One Jury Makes Good

Trial by jury is anything but perfect, as the Sinclair jury reminded us. Nevertheless, there are cases when it is much better to trust the common sense of the jury than the pride of a judge. One of these cases is obviously that in which men are cited for contempt of an injunction. The score or more workers and strike leaders who were tried for violating Federal Judge Geiger's drastic injunction granted on application of the Allen-A Hosiery Mills of Kenosha, Wisc., would probably have been given heavy fines or jail sentences if the judge had sat alone without a jury. The jury very properly acquitted them. The judge's injunction should never have been granted. It forbade what the laws of the state of Wisconsin specifically permits. It was granted at the request of a company which did not come into court with clean hands because it had hired one of the most notorious strike breaking agencies in the country. What we want is the abolition of injunctions in labor disputes, not simply a long and extensive jury trial under them. But the Wisconsin case proved there is something to be said for juries.

most active workers, the continuous attacks on the unemployed and on local government—all these are to be followed up by a capitalist-financed organization of potential blacklegs, who will be used in further attacks on wages and hours in every industry."

Lessons in Self-Government in India

THE Simon Commission was appointed by the British Government to ascertain how far the Indian nation is ready for self-government.

The police of the British Government have meanwhile been giving a practical illustration of the blessings and superiority of European civilization. This they did in connection with the Lilloah strike in Baman-gachi, where, supported by the European railway staff, they fired upon the strikers, killing 5 and wounding 35 persons. 20,000 workers are taking part in the strike, and 6,000 metal workers have proclaimed a sympathetic strike, but all picketing has been of a purely peaceful kind.

Labor Conflicts in Sweden

DURING the last few years Sweden has not had any very extensive labor conflicts. There has been no lack of disputes, but hitherto it has been possible to make a settlement at last moment. But now the cellulose and paper industry employers have denounced the wage agreement and demanded a reduction of the maximum wages, which will affect about 3,600 of the 12,000 workers of the industry. It was found impossible to reach an agreement, the employers therefore proclaimed a lock-out, which came into operation on January 2 and was later extended to the sawmills and further into the paper industry, so that it now comprises about 12,000 members of the saw-mill workers' union and some 27,000 members of the paper industry workers' union. Besides wage cuts, the employers are trying to make changes for the worse in the general conditions, such as the holiday pay, medical attendance, overtime allowances, payment of repairs, and the right of the union to safeguard the interests of workers under age and old workers.

At the beginning of January there was also a strike of the metalore miners of Central Sweden, the earnings of these workers being considerably less than those of the mine-workers of North Sweden, so that they naturally endeavored to get an adjustment. Failing to get this, they declared a strike, which was later extended by means of a sympathetic strike to the ore mines of North Sweden. From the middle of March the workers of the sugar refineries and of the ship-yards have also been involved in conflict, so that the total number of locked-out and striking workers is at present about 65,000. In view of the large amounts necessary to support these workers, the Centre is making a special levy of 50 or 25 ore per member per week. The corresponding unions in the other Scandinavian countries are also starting relief actions.

The Conciliation Commission appointed by the Government has repeatedly endeavored to settle the point in dispute, but so far it has failed to do so. Negotiations are going on in the mining industry and the celluloid industry, but it is doubtful whether these will succeed; and it is therefore possible that the struggle may last a long time.

The Week In Local 10

The last membership meeting of Local 10 held on Monday, April 30, at Arlington Hall, which was very well attended, was the pre-convention meeting. Besides the interesting report rendered by the Manager, regarding the recent annual dance of Local 10, the success of the Old Age Fund, and the publication of the *Souvenir Journal* issued for that purpose, the meeting devoted several hours to discussing the problems of the coming convention.

The membership unanimously approved the following recommendations submitted by the Executive Board and the delegates to the coming convention:

1. That the general officers of the International, president, secretary, treasurer and all vice-presidents be elected by a popular referendum vote of the members instead of the old system of being elected by the delegates at the convention.

2. The granting of a charter for a local to the reefer makers' former members of Local 17.

3. The introduction of a resolution condemning injunctions against labor unions.

An interesting discussion developed when these recommendations were submitted to the membership. At the beginning, several members objected to the proposition of a referendum. They claimed, on one hand, that some of the people who are now advocating a referendum, at one time or another, opposed it, and while a referendum might be the most democratic instrument to administer the affairs of an organization, nevertheless, because some of those who are at present advocating the referendum, at one time opposed it, the objectors further claimed that, although in principle they are for a referendum yet at this time they are against it.

On the other hand, some of the conservative element objected to it on the ground of its being a radical reform and not in accordance with the conservative principles of trade unionism. Brothers Perlmuter, Nagler and Dubinsky represented the view of the Executive Board and the unanimous decision of the delegates on this proposition. They explained that in the life of a union, as well as in any other public activity, one is confronted with matters which at certain times one is opposed to because they are not beneficial to an organization, and, on the other hand, one may favor the same matter later because at that time it becomes of benefit to the welfare of the organization. You may condemn an individual for a certain action, and on another occasion praise him for his usefulness and loyalty in another direction. The same applies to the proposition of a referendum.

When the Communists were seeking to control, and, later, when they controlled the Union and wanted to utilize the referendum vote to their advantage, the trade union element was utterly opposed to it, not so much opposed to the principle of a referendum, but because it would not serve the best interests of the Union. On the contrary, it would serve, they stated, the interests of the Communist Party, which in those days was the guiding spirit of a part of our membership. But when the Union is confronted with a situation where the loyal element of the Union, those who sacrificed themselves for the maintenance of the International Union, those who were the greatest factor in the fight conducted by the International against the disruptive element, particularly those that are known to

everyone to be loyal to the trade union movement, when among such elements there is a difference of opinion as to who should make up the coming administration of the International, when there are two distinct factions, one favoring a change in the administration and the other opposing a change, it was argued it is the sanest and most logical settlement of the situation that the membership at large decide as to who should make up the coming administration. And it should be settled by a popular referendum vote, so that all factions favoring a change or opposing a change, should be obliged to submit it to the decision of the membership.

With the situation the Union is confronted at the present time, there should be no room for accusations that the officers of the International do not represent the membership, and are those who are not wanted by the membership as their leaders. Today, after the reorganization of our Union, where the disloyal element has been ousted from the control of our Union, when those who were directly or indirectly affiliated with the Communist Party are no longer members of our Union, when they have ousted themselves and have become the official scab agency of the International and the bona fide American Labor Movement, the element that comprises the present membership of the International, is entitled to have its say.

The objections voiced against a referendum of two and four years ago are not applicable today. Today conditions in the Union are different than before. While we were successful in eliminating the destructive element from the ranks of the Union, or from any influence upon the Union, while it is admitted by friends as well as enemies of our International that the Communists are now a thing of the past, that they have been beaten completely, due to the effective fight of our International Union, nevertheless, today, our Union is confronted with still greater problems, the problem of reconstructing the Union, the question of regaining the confidence of the membership, the question of regaining the morale which was so effectively destroyed by the Communists, the question of reestablishing the financial standing of our Union. All this requires the united efforts and determination on the part of all the loyal elements to rebuild the Union. No group, and no individual, without the full-hearted cooperation of all the active forces within the Union will be able to accomplish anything in this direction. That the Union is above individuals and above personalities is beyond question. However, the manner in which the political situation has developed within our Union, presents only one way to accomplish it, and

that is, by the decision in favor of a referendum vote. Those who favor a change in the administration as well as those who oppose a change will have an opportunity to voice their opinion at a popular referendum election.

Another important question which rose during the discussion was the granting of a charter to the reefer makers, former members of Local 17. Here the officers were bitterly attacked for permitting the revoking of the charter against this local four years ago. They claimed that they saw the danger and tragedy, not only for the several thousand families maintaining themselves in Local 17, but for the entire Union, by this move of the General Executive Board. The only reason they kept quiet at that time was because Manager Dubinsky, their vice-president, voted for the revoking of the charter and they did not want to bring dissension within the ranks of Local 10.

They claimed that the former Local 17 consisted of the most loyal element in the Union. They governed their affairs on a sound basis. They protected the interests of their members. They carried out the policies of the International and of the Labor movement.

David Dubinsky, speaking for the delegates and for the Executive Board on this question, explained that the greatness or smallness of a man expressed itself in his ability to admit a mistake, and he readily admitted his mistake in helping to destroy Local 17. So have others. Individually, almost every one of the higher union officials today realize this mistake. They explained that before the merging of the operators' locals into one union, on the same basis as that of the other crafts which are organized, the former members of Local 17, who were clamoring for that change, contended that the system of three separate operators' local was the cause for a great dissatisfaction within their ranks, and responsible for many outbreaks within the union. The leadership of the International, therefore, expected that by merging these three locals into one operators' local, that they would once and for all establish the operators on a sound basis and become loyal trade unionists.

However, when the vice-presidents came to that well-remembered meeting at Cooper Union to present this gift to the members of these three locals, they were received with boos. And then what developed? To the several thousand people who were suffering from the chaotic "Mexican" condition in that local, a great many more victims were added. Instead of having two local unions, 17 and 11, supporting the policies of the International, we destroyed these locals by merging them into one, and increasing the influence of Local 1, which for the last few years was at all

times a source of trouble for the International.

Due to the experience of the last four years we are all convinced that no one benefited by this merger. The membership of Local 1 did not gain from it in the least, conditions did not stabilize themselves. Their business is still being transacted in the same old chaotic manner, the control amongst the operators has not improved, the care given to the reefer shops formerly was completely neglected. Many of their shops went out of existence because of this. Thousands of their former members were unemployed and are actually starving. No attention was or could be given to them, and they are still clamoring about without a strong guiding hand. And if a mistake had been committed and no one has benefited from it, we should all be big enough to rectify that mistake, and a charter should be granted to the reefer makers. This decision was accepted by the member unanimously and the delegates were instructed to support such a resolution.

Besides the discussion of these resolutions, a financial report regarding the Old Age Fund was given, details of which will be given in the next issue.

In the minutes of the Executive Board it was reported that the Executive Board decided several weeks ago to give a send-off to the delegates of Local 10 before they leave for Boston. A special committee consisting of Brothers Louis Forer, Ben Erry, Max L. Gordon, Philip Hansel, Philip Ansel, Meyer Friedman and Joel Abramowitz were appointed to make the arrangements and report same to the membership. Brother Louis Forer, who is the chairman of the committee, reported that the committee decided to enlarge the original committee appointed by the Executive Board by adding the following four active members: Julius Levine, Sam Greenberg, Joe Adee and Harry Cohen. He further reported that the send-off will be given to the delegates at Moskowitz's Little Roumanian Restaurant, 76 Second Avenue, Saturday at 12 o'clock sharp. Price per cover is \$2.50. Space is available for 150 people only. Brother Forer informed the membership that about 120 people have asked for the privilege of being present on this occasion. He explained to the members that there is room for a few more. Those who desire to be there should give him this information immediately so that he may accommodate them. The reason the affair is called for 12 o'clock sharp is because the train leaves at 4:30 and arrangements are being made so that the crowd at the send-off gathering, as well as other friends and other active members of the union who desire to be at the station to bid them good bye, may get together either at the restaurant or at the Grand Central Station at 4:30 sharp. Members who want additional information regarding the send-off affair should apply to the office of Local 10 on Saturday morning at 10 o'clock and see the committee.

Manager Dubinsky reported that in his absence and in the absence of all the officers of Local 10 who are delegates to the coming convention, Brother Hansel, Business Agent of the Miscellaneous Division, and Brother Ben Erry, who is serving as temporary business agent for the Dress Division in place of Brother David Fruhling, will be in charge of the office.

Unity House Is Just As Beautiful in Winter As in Summer
—Pay It A Visit and Convince Yourself!

SEND-OFF To Local 10 Delegates

Send off being arranged by the membership of Local 10 for the delegates to the coming convention.

Send off will take place at 12:00 o'clock sharp, at
MOSKOWITZ'S LITTLE ROUMANIAN RESTAURANT
67 Second Avenue

Members must be there on time, as the train the delegates are leaving on leaves at 4:30 at the Grand Central Station.

Remember, it is important that you be on time.